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come of an inquiry into this matter, undertaken specifically to ascertain the relative trustworthiness of two great nations "as indicated in their intercourse with each other." The aim is innocent enough; the conclusions arrived at, though in no wise startling, are of interest; and in these days of deep concern about moral values in international affairs it seems entirely natural that the motives and actions of nations should be dissected, weighed, and cataloged as good or bad. Yet there is something about the assumption on which Major Bigelow proceeds that grates on the historian's sensibilities. Everybody knows that there have been breaches of Anglo-American treaties. Every person well enough informed to be interested in Major Bigelow's book knows that for these breaches both nations have been deeply responsible. It seems a work of no great value to measure degrees of guilt, to balance off infringements against one another, and to try to determine which nation's good works can be made to tip the scale. The project is perhaps saved by the author's care in the use of his materials and by his effort to be entirely fair. Yet it rings of the mechanical, the quantitative.

Major Bigelow finds that between 1783 and 1913 some thirty compacts that may be considered treaties were concluded between the two powers; that of these, eight, — including practically all the agreements of first importance, ending with the treaty of Washington in 1871, — were violated by Great Britain; that four, i.e., those of 1783, 1795, 1818, and 1819, were violated also by the United States; that, with the possible exception of the treaty of 1819, the United States violated these four only after Great Britain had done so; that no treaty between the two nations "appears to have been violated by the United States alone;" and that whereas the United States has paid five and a half million dollars to Great Britain as indemnities, Great Britain has paid to the United States upwards of twenty-nine millions. The conclusion is that the United States "has more than a safe balance of good faith to its credit."

The author makes no pretense to the use of new materials, and his book can hardly be considered more than an accurate compilation of well-known facts. Illustrative fragments of diplomatic correspondence are printed in appendices. The bibliography shows no principle of arrangement, and two of the three maps are worthless.

FREDERIC A. OGG

Studies in the problem of sovereignty. By Harold J. Laski, department of history, Harvard university, sometime exhibitor New college, Oxford. (New Haven: Yale university press, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1917. 297 p. \$2.50 net)

This monograph consists of a series of articles, previously published in periodicals, all of which illustrate the theme that the absolute concep-

tion of sovereignty is inadequate. Mr. Laski's philosophical theory of sovereignty is developed in the opening chapter, in which he confesses his attitude to be pragmatic and his philosophy to be pluralistic. In philosophic monism he finds the origin of the conception of the sovereignty of the state as developed by Hobbes, Hegel, and John Austin, a conception which he believes suits better the unity of the human mind than the variety of historical facts. "The will of the State," he says, "obtains prééminence over the wills of other groups exactly to the point where it is interpreted with sufficient wisdom to obtain general acceptance, and no further." (p. 14) That the doctrine of absolute, indivisible sovereignty has had an important effect in the hands of Bismarck and other state builders is not denied, but the effect is not regarded as fortunate.

The detailed discussion is devoted to three illustrations of the struggle between church and state in the nineteenth century, "the disruption," "the Oxford movement," and "the Catholic revival." Mr. Laski is concerned with the theory of the contending parties rather than with the historical details of these movements. In all of them he finds the central motive to have been the demand of the church for a sphere of autonomy beyond the control of the state, carried in the Catholic revival by some to the extreme claim of the middle ages, that the church is supreme.

In a final chapter the opinions of DeMaistre and Bismarck are discussed as embodying the absolute conception of sovereignty in reference to church and state respectively, and in two appendices Mr. Laski briefly develops his ideas of federalism and centralization in relation to sovereignty, to which he gives a real meaning by defining its exercise as "an act of will, to do or to refrain from doing" (p. 270).

By bringing historic example to demonstrate the barrenness of the dogmatic conception of sovereignty, and the shallowness of the philosophy which puts the state in a class by itself, differing essentially from all other societies, Mr. Laski has made an important contribution to political theory. His historical view shows a broad perspective and also a mastery of detail. The footnotes indicate a familiarity with the medieval literature of the church and state conflict as well as the controversial literature of the nineteenth century.

Mr. Laski has nothing to say of a "sovereignty" beyond the state. In this field such books as Westlake's *Principles of international law*, and Hill's *World organization and the modern state* have elaborated the criticisms of absolute sovereignty suggested by the present work. Undoubtedly the tendency of political theory is to recognize a greater autonomy in associations above and below the state at the expense of the "sovereignty" of the state, thus attaining through federalism the unity

which has been found such a desideratum for law and order, without impairing the variety which progress demands.

QUINCY WRIGHT

Addresses on government and citizenship. By Elihu Root. Collected and edited by Robert Bacon and James Brown Scott. (Cambridge: Harvard university press, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1916. 552 p. \$2.00 net)

This is one of a series of volumes designed to contain the collected addresses and state papers of Mr. Root during the period of his services in the cabinet and as United States senator from New York. The volume before us contains his various addresses on government, citizenship, and legal procedure. Mr. Root's great abilities as a lawyer and his long experience in public life render valuable anything that he may have to say on these subjects. Most if not all the papers contained in this volume have been previously published in various forms, but the editors have performed a needed service in bringing them together for convenient use and reference.

The longest and most systematic papers here reprinted are the series of lectures delivered in 1907 and 1913 at Yale and Princeton universities respectively on the William S. Dodge and Stafford Little foundations. Considerable space is also devoted to a reprint of speeches made by Mr. Root before the New York constitutional conventions of 1894 and 1915. The most noteworthy of these is the speech on "Invisible government," in which he attacked the system behind the form of the government which had dominated New York state for a generation. Another address here reprinted which attracted much attention at the time of its delivery in 1906 is that on "How to preserve the local self-government of the states," in which the speaker gave his views as to the relations between the nation and the states. Also worthy of note is the able address on the case of William Lorimer, delivered in the United States senate.

The various papers cannot here be reviewed in detail. Suffice it to say that, as a whole, they show the author to be possessed of a wide knowledge of public men and events and of a shrewd wit and common sense in judging them. They are imbued with a high sense of the duty of the citizen to his government and reflect his high ethical standards as a lawyer. Although extremely conservative if not reactionary in some of his views, Mr. Root is shown in this volume to be optimistic as to the future of party and popular government. It should be added, however, that towards many of our governmental institutions, his comments exhibit a merely laudatory, rather than critical or scientific attitude.

J. M. MATHEWS